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G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

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FOR THE NATIONAL ERA.

SHERWOOD FOREST,
OR
WAGER BY BATTLE.

A Tale of Saxon Slavery in the Twelfth Century.

BY HENRY WILLIAM HERBERT.

CHAP. VII.

I say not nay, but that all day,
It is both wet and windy,
That woman's faith is as who sayeth,
All utterly dercy!
But nevertheless, nigh good witnesse
In this case proveth,
That they love true and constaunce—
Recorde I the Frankeleyn,
Which, when her love came her to prove,
To her on sonde
Wolde have him part—for in her hart
She loved but him alone.

The Not Browne Mayde.

How true a thing is it of the human heart, and alas! how pitiful a thing, that use has such wonderful power over it, whether for good or for evil; but mostly, perhaps, that such is its nature, unto evil. Custom will harden the adroit spirit to the toolrock's temper, and blind that keen and philosophic eye to the light of discrimination, that things the most horrible to behold shall be beheld with pleasure, and things the most unjust regarded with indifference, at least, as the inevitable course and pervading law of nature. True as this is, in all respects, in none is it more clearly or fatally discoverable than in everything connected with the state of the so called slavery, in the largest sense, including the subjugation, by whatever means, not only of man to man, but even of animal to the human race. In all such cases, it would appear that the hardening and deteriorating influence of habit, and the perhaps unavoidable tendency to believe everything convenient to be right, and everything benign the mind to regard the power to enforce and the capacity to perform as the rule of just conduct between the strong and the weak.

The generally good and kind-hearted man, who has all his life been used to see his beasts of burthen dragging a few pounds' weight above their proper strength, without the slightest pity, regard the extraordinary measure as the proper burthen, and to look upon the hapless brute, spurned, and goaded, and tortured, as perfectly sensible and insensible decay, as merely performing the work, and filling the station, to perform and fill which it was created. And so, and yet more naturally, with the human creature, man, or a class of men, to man. We commence by degrading, and end by thinking of him as of one degraded. We begin by depriving a man of the standard and condition of a brute, then assume that he is but a brute, in feelings, intellect, capacity to acquire, and thence argue—in the most perfect good faith, and the most sincere—that it is but right and natural to deal with him as what he is. Nor is this tendency of the human mind confined to the operation of any one cause, but prevails, more or less, in relation to all servitude and inferiority, voluntary or involuntary; so that many of the best, all, indeed, but the noblest, of mankind, have, at one time or other, upon all, placed by circumstances and society in inferior positions, as inferiors in very deed, and naturally accepted to themselves as every thing expressive of cofiprtable and to regard them, in fact, as a subordinate class of animals and half beings of a lower class of creation.

This is a fearful truth, and a terrible, truth really to lower the inferior person; and, by the tendency of association, the inferior class; until the superior person, and the superior class, will soon, through centuries, the race itself, from social, snake into natural, degradation.

This had already occurred in a very great degree in the Saxon race of England, who had been slaves of Saxons, for many centuries before the arrival of the Norman conquerors, but had, as a people, and Saxons in general, between the free-born and the slave, of the conquered race, but reduced them all to one common state of misery and real or quasi servitude—for many centuries had been beloved masters, and masters, sunk into a state of want and suffering so pitiable and so abject, that, generally speaking, every species of cofiprtable was denied them, in fact, as a subordinate class of animals and half beings of a lower class of creation.

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created by the coming of so fine a lady to our neighborhood, as the new Mrs. Richards.

Till the marriage was proven beyond a doubt, I had not suffered its possibility to enter my mind; but when I was forced to believe, and in that one conviction came doubt of everything else, I had no longer confidence in man, or woman either. I had, for a time, little faith or hope of immortality. It seemed, that if I had not died blindly, and whithersoever chance directed, all would not have been so dark. Desolate, desolate I was all my cry.

Mary Halstead placed her hands before her eyes, as if to shut out from view the old anguish; and while we both remained silent, the housekeeper entered with a letter in her hand.

"Do know the seal, child," she said, with an expression of eager curiosity in her face; "perhaps it is from our good Mr. Screwhard."

"Strange, strange! that you will still think that man so perfect," said Mary, irritably; but the next moment she smiled, and, saying "No, it is not strange," broke the seal.

Foreign Affairs.

REVOLUTIONS OF SPAIN.

No. 3.

We have seen that the restoration of Ferdinand VII to the throne of his ancestors, preserved for him during the six years of his captivity in France by the loyalty and valor of his subjects, took place under the armed escort of General Equia. He did not present himself as the father of his people, but in the stern aspect of a conqueror. In common with the whole family, he had learned in exile to succeed nothing from adversity. The patriots who had maintained the national independence were soon to be rewarded with royal ingratitude, while those who had meanly fled from the contest, or had basely served the intrusive King, were to be promoted to offices of emolument and honor. The doors of dungeons were already opening for the former; the latter had advanced in the favor of the throne. What have the friends of the King urged against the Cortes? They describe them as dictating to him in somewhat the following terms: "You shall do our bidding; you shall exercise no act of sovereignty until empowered by us. You shall be King after our fashion; when you return, such and such only of your late choosing shall accompany you, and your subjects shall have no laws but those of our enacting. We will allow them no time to inquire into the merits of that code which we have framed for their benefit. They must accept and thank us for the boon. They have no right to deliberate where we have decided. That right was vested in us, and we have exercised it. It is therefore their interest and it is your duty to obey our summons to appear in the hosom of the Cortes, and swear to the Constitution we have framed."

In this there is exaggeration, but there is also truth. In the strict sense of legitimacy, Ferdinand returned to Spain with all his ancestral rights of royalty unimpaired; in other words, as an absolute King. His position was not analogous to that of William III of England, who was compelled to accept the Bill of Rights before he received the crown. He was to fill a throne vacated by an act of abdication, and therefore the donors of that throne were justified in making terms with a new and elected sovereign. But the case of Ferdinand was very different. His throne had never been abdicated; and it was only vacant because he was a captive in an enemy's country. His royal rights had only been dormant; and then the question is, whether the Cortes had a sound title to change the nature of his prerogative during his involuntary absence from his country. Of course, legitimacy answers the question with a very decided negative; but there are some special circumstances to be considered.

In the struggle against France, much more was involved than the dynasty of the Spanish Bourbons; for the integrity of Spanish independence was imperilled. It is true that the Cortes had defended both; but the mere fact of their having refused the reasonable offer of Napoleon in the terms of the treaty of Valencay, clearly shows that they looked more to the national independence than to the Royal family. They demanded guarantees, not only against the foreigner, but against those of their countrymen who had supported the foreigner. Hence, while they recognized the rights of the King, whose throne they had defended, they expected a return sufficient to secure for their own liberties, by converting an absolute into a constitutional throne. But what is a "constitutional" throne? The very vagueness of the term leads to a multiplicity of interpretations. Lafayette's definition, after the expulsion of Charles X, was an "hereditary monarchy surrounded by republican institutions." In England, we have another formula—the government of Kings, Lords, and Commons." The Cortes went still further, both in theory and practice. They recognised but one chamber, wholly elective, no privileges being conceded, either to coronets or mitres. But the essential difference between what Lafayette proposed and England recognises, and what Spain desires to enforce, was the following: whereas in England no power of proroguing or dissolving their own body, which in hereditary mouarchies is a vital element in the royal prerogative. In this respect they cred, for, even in a republic, the power of convening or dismissing the legislative assembly is vested in the President.

However, Ferdinand and the Serviles triumphed. Whatever may have been the defects of the Constitution, it undoubtedly expressed the wishes of the vast majority of the people. It was not the offspring of violence, and it had been solemnly recognised by foreign Powers, by those Powers who aided in the dethronement of Bonaparte, which event released Ferdinand from bondage. What is remarkable in the counter-revolution, that of Government, which only a few days before its downfall exercised all the material and moral power of the Peninsula, offered no resistance to Ferdinand, and took no precautionary measures against the machinations of its enemies. Posterity may condemn the leading Liberals for not saving the State by saving the King himself from the snares of his perfidious adviseers; but assuredly they will not be branded as factious Jacobins.

Then commenced a frightful persecution of the patriots, victims of the Serviles and Afrancesados, whom they had so long despised. Some were confined in the dungeons of Africa, others in the prisons of the Inquisition; some were sent to the galleys, branded as the refuse of mankind; and there had come to be reason whether individuals were wise in sacrificing themselves for the benefit of an ungrateful country. The people stood aloof, showing no sympathy, and made no effort to break the chains fettering the hands of those who had inscribed their rights and enfranchisement on the tables of the law. It is difficult to account for this passiveness unless we have an explanation in the memorable words addressed by the Roman Sertorius to those brave Spaniards who followed his banner against Pompey: "Spaniards," exclaimed Sertorius, "be united, and you will be invincible; but I fear you have too much individual pride to act long together under any leader." Prophetic words! which have found their realization in the last forty years, as indeed they did in earlier days.

All that the fury of hatred and the blind rage of calumny could invent against the persecuted patriots, was accumulated in the legal processes instituted against them. Where criminality could not be proved, it was imagined. No judgment could be obtained, for there were no proofs; but the accused were tortured by delays; and sentences, that could not be pronounced without leading to an acquittal, were deferred. The King himself became weary of the prolonged agonies, and had recourse on some termination to these horrors; but his commands were constantly eluded. Such was the innocence of the patriots, that though three commissions were successively appointed, and composed of their sworn enemies, none dared to take on themselves the responsibility of condemnation to death, which was the object desired. But fear of the future alone restrained them; and the consequence was, that the last commission persuaded the Government, without any judgment being recorded, without any evidence being submitted, arbitrarily to award the following punishments.

All who had escaped by flight were sentenced to death. The most illustrious of this class were Count Torreno, Flores Estrada, and Mina. In the next class, the great orator, Augustin Arguelles, was condemned to eight years' incarceration at Ceuta, and Cango Arguelles, the financier, to a similar imprisonment at Peniscola; such also was the fate of the poet Marchanes de la Rosa, at El Penon; and of Calatrava, at Mellila; Villanevas, Munos, Torrero, Oliveros, and Cepero, liberal ecclesiastics, were deprived of their benefices, and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment in monasteries. It would be easy to extend the list, for the catalogue is long; but our object is rather to paint the spirit of the counter-revolution, than to dwell on details. At length, the celebrated Cevallos, then Minister, and who had accompanied Ferdinand to Bayonne when deputed to make known to the Spanish people the abdication of the Royal family, presented to the King a memorial, in which he boldly sketched out the consequences of this cruel system. He advised the cessation of all persecutions for political opinion, and recommended his Majesty to open the gates of the prisons, overcrowded with victims. The King accepted this prudent and humane policy; but the ultimate counsels were dictated by those in his adoption. Such was the restoration of the Spanish Bourbons.

From 1815 to 1819, distrusts, suspicions, conspiracies, and insurrections, distracted the country. On one side was the King, the privileged orders, and the mass of the people under the sway of the priests. On the other was the numerous party dissolved from the ranks of the Constitutional army, and all who desired popular government. Ferdinand had solemnly promised to convene Cortes under the old national and legal forms, and that promise he violated. If the Cortes wished to go too far, he would not go far enough, and there was no middle party to hold the balance. The King favored the Afrancesados, as those were called who had joined the French party, and served King Joseph in Napoleon, during the captivity of the Royal family. This naturally excited the liveliest indignation among the patriots, and those who had lost relatives and friends during the war; it is true the King published an amnesty on the 30th of May, 1814, from the benefit of which he excluded some of the most atrocious, who had borne arms in the French service against Spain; but he allowed the rest, with trifling restrictions, to return home. Such proceedings disgusted the constitutional party, who felt that time and opportunity were alone wanting to bring back their most cruel and detested enemies. Mina gave the first signal of resistance. On the 25th of September, 1814, he entered the fortress of Pamplona; but, on the capitulation of the garrison, withdrew to France. This movement served as a pretext for not convening the Cortes. On the 16th of September, 1815, Porlier succeeded in gaining over the garrison of Corunna, and arrested the local authorities. He afterwards took possession of Ferrol, and issued a proclamation, declaring that the King was badly advised, and that the Cortes alone to be consulted. In four days he was abandoned by his troops, seized, and put to death. Lacy, Vidal, and others, made similar attempts, and shared a similar fate. Various attempts at insurrection failed during the four following years, and other victims perished. Power was exasperated, and Liberalism, though checked, was not discouraged. Conspiracies were formed in the army. The high hour came in 1819. In December of that year, a large force was assembled in Lower Andalusia, destined to reduce the American colonies to submission, but neither the officers nor privates liked the service. The opponents of the Government availed themselves of this growing disaffection, and a general plan of mutiny was organized in the Constitutional army. It was to broke out on the 1st of January, 1820, when the Constitution of 1812 was proclaimed. The troops in Galicia immediately fraternized with those in Andalusia. Mina hoisted the standard of the Cortes and the Constitution in Navarre. Agar, the late Regent, successfully agitated Aragon and Catalonia. Madrid joined the movement, and when it was too late, Ferdinand published a decree convening the Cortes on the 6th of May. This revolution is known as the mutiny of La Isla. Many plans were proposed for a pacification. Elio, Captain General of Valencia, requested permission of the King to proceed to Andalusia, and, in conjunction with General Freyre, endeavor to reduce the soldiers to their allegiance. Infante Don Carlos also offered his services; but Ferdinand refused these overtures by the advise of his Minister, the Duke del Infantado. The revolution, however, hated in its course, and was stationary for a few weeks, and perhaps by timely vigor it might have been stopped. At the outset, Cadiz adhered to Royalty. Evening San Miguel, the historian of this period, alluding to the resistance of Cadiz, says:

"The hopes of gaining this important city gradually vanished. By force it was considered impossible to do anything; and negotiations, promises, and corruption, no longer produced effect. Our situation was truly extraordinary; and the revolution, stationary for twenty-five days, without losing or gaining on its first ground, presented one of the most singular phenomena in politics. Riego's attempt at Malaga had failed, and his appearance only produced astonishment among the people."

However, a military movement at Corunna, on the 22d of February, 1820, and Mina's appearance in Navarre, consolidated the mutiny at La Isla. At the last moment, the King appeared willing to try an appeal to arms, but Ballasteros, who had recently been appointed to the military command at Madrid, placed a document in his hands, containing the names of officers who were implicated in the revolution, and Ferdinand yielded. Orders were immediately issued for the convocation of Cortes; the liberal emigrants returned, and the Constitutional party was strengthened by the amalgamation of the officers who had been instrumental in the raising of La Isla.

Among the earliest measures of the new Government was the address of circulars to the different Cabinets of Europe. The ultimate result was momentous. It led to the occupation of Spain by France; it destroyed the Holy Alliance between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the object of which was continental Absolutism; finally, it was the commencement of the Spanish American colonies as independent nations, by England. We here merely indicate these events, for we must not anticipate the details.

On the 21st of April, 1820, England merely acknowledged the receipt of the Spanish circular, but expressed its sincere interest in the welfare of Spain. Russia, under the date of the 2d May, denounced in severe terms the occurrences at La Isla. Its answer to the circular contains the following passages:

"Since the general pacification, Russia has, in concert with her allies, given more than one proof of the interest she takes in Spanish affairs. The correspondence which took place among the various Courts of Europe attests the truth what the Emperor has declared, that the authority of the King should be consolidated through the medium of pure and genuine principles, and will do his best to support efficacious institutions, rendered so by the regular mode of their establishment. Institutions emanating from thrones are conservative; but when they spring up amidst ruins, they only engender a new chaos. In declaring his conviction on this point, the Emperor only speaks according to the lessons of experience. If we look back to the past, great examples present themselves for the meditation of nations, as well as of sovereigns. His Majesty persists in his opinion; that wise maxim is not changed, and that he here gives the most formal assurance. It now belongs to the Government of the Peninsula to judge whether institutions imposed by one of those violent acts, the fatal accompany against which Spain has struggled with so much honor, can realize the benefits expected from the wishes of the Nation, the King, and the patriotism of his counsels. The path by which Spain shall choose to seek this important object, and the measures by which she endeavors to develop the principles adopted in Europe by the events of the month of March, must determine the nature of the relations which the Emperor desires to hold presently with the Spanish Government, and the confidence which he would always testify towards it."

France, Austria, and Prussia, participated in the views of Russia, and each of them, with more or less reprobation, denounced every approach to democratic institutions. However, the Progressistes were undismayed by foreign censures, and on the 9th July the Cortes met, with the usual solemnities. It is remarkable that one of the earliest measures of the new Assembly was to disband the very army that had raised the standard of revolution at La Isla. It was indeed a daring experiment. Many of the dismissed officers remonstrated, and for a moment the Cortes seemed to have some compassion to this military resentment, the War Minister was dismissed; Riego was invited to Madrid, but shortly afterwards exiled to Oviedo. Several others were banished, on the plea that they meditated a republic. Tumults arose, which were put down by the sword.

The Cortes proceeded seriously with their reorganizing labors. The sixty-nine Deputies who signed the address presented to the King at Valencia, in April, 1814, and known as the "Persians," were disqualified for the exercise of any office, civil or military, at the same time that the Afrancesados, formerly persecuted, were restored to their civic rights. Among the new measures was one awarding the penalty of banishment for eight years against any one endeavoring to dissuade the people from the observance of the Constitution, and imprisonment for the same period if an ecclesiastic. The law of email was altered, which gave great offence to the nobility. The finances were so deranged that a foreign loan was a necessity, as the country was impoverished to sustain a pressure of taxation adequate to its emergencies; and a plan was submitted for the appropriation of church property. By a decree passed on the 1st October, the monasteries, excepting a certain number, were suppressed, and also several of the military orders, the revenues of which, it was agreed, should be set apart for the payment of the national debt. Hitherto, the King had sanctioned the proceedings of the Cortes, though with reluctance; but he hesitated to interfere with the church, and a month elapsed before he affixed his signature to the secularization of monastic property. In regard to this subject, we must enter into some details.

By certain articles decreed by the Council of Trent, a power was reserved to the Crown of Spain to suppress any convent, if the monks did not amount to twelve. During the reign of Ferdinand VII, it was ascertained that out of eighteen hundred convents that existed in the Kingdom, nine hundred, or one half, fell under that category, and were accordingly suppressed by a simple ordinance. Jonellanos reckoned the whole number of the clerical body of all classes at 180,000. "The oldest conventual foundations," says Capt. Widdrington, "appear to be the very curious group in Galicia and the Asturias, to which kingdoms they seem to have been confined. There were no less than 400 of these small establishments in the former part being *'duplices,'* or containing both sexes. In fact, they were private endowments, and much more secular than ecclesiastical in their nature; nor do I suppose the inmates professed any degree of chastity, or possibly even celibacy. A portion of these foundations were styled *'heredero,'* meaning that they were proprietary, and belonging, of hereditary right, to the families who had originally endowed them. The dates of the greater number are in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, centuries." In the time of Charles III, the enormous property locked up by being in possession of the regular clergy had been regularly brought under the notice of the Government, and the sale of that property, and its conversion into the means of the public funds and securities, for their benefit, was seriously proposed by no less a body than the Council of Castile. The groundwork of this proposition was the fatal injury to agriculture inflicted by the system, for the husbandry on these lands was very defective; an immense waste was literally depopulated. "There are the forty towns of Toledo," asks Capt. Widdrington, "that have disappeared since the time of Philip II? Ask the priesthood, for they are the real authors of such destruction. Where are the industrious people who teemed in Andalusia, the very name of whose locations is lost, and whose place was filled the country along the Guadalquivir, making it one vast garden and crowned line of villages and towns? Ask the advisers and directory of the Catholic Kings, who are now held out as subjects for admiration. Who have caused the reduction of Estremadura, nearly the most beautiful region in Europe, to a vast despoblado? The same authorities. Let the traveller go from Burgos to Valladolid, and from there to Leon, returning to Benevente, or shaping his course as he may in that region, he will see everywhere, amid the most fertile land, capable of producing everything to gladden the heart of man, little more than the ruins of decayed villages and towns, the shadows and spectres of former wealth and prosperity; the same hands and hands have produced the fatal consequences."

The feeble mind of Ferdisand, however, looked on church property as sacred; nor is this wonderful, since he passed much of his time in embroidering a petticoat for the Virgin Mary! The bigoted populace regarded the secularization of the monastic lands as sacrilege. This view coincided with the old and little confidence that remained between the King and the Cortes, who were henceforward opposed by him because they restrained his prerogative; they were hated by the nobles, for having interfered with the law of entail; by the church, for the reasons assigned; by the peasantry, for disturbing traditions and old customs. The truth is, that the Cortes were in advance of their age and country, while the Cortes were in advance of their age. They wanted to reform an uneducated people, through institutions which the people could not appreciate. That a contest should ensue, under these circumstances, can excite no surprise; but the nature of that contest becomes highly interesting and instructive, in consequence of foreign intervention, since that intervention not only brought into play the balance of power in Europe, but also the balance of conflicting principles; or, in other words, the absolutism of the Holy Alliance and the constitutional principles of England.

J. D.

London, October 18, 1854.

AUSTRIA, PRUSSIA, AND GERMANY.

Count Buol, the Minister for the Foreign Affairs of Austria, addressed on the 30th of September, to Count Esterhazy, the Austrian Ambassador at the Court of Berlin, a confidential note, containing statements showing clearly that Austria has abandoned its plan of preventing the Turks from attacking, by the way of Wallachia and Moldavia, the Russian position on the left bank of the Prath; and, farther, that it is not willing to give Prussia the promise required by that Power, of not changing its alleged neutrality into open hostilities against Russia. Count Buol says that the Austrians have entered the Danubian Principalities, in virtue of the permission of the Sultan, and for the sole purpose of preventing their being re occupied by the Russians; and, consequently, that Austria cannot undertake to prevent the Turks or their allies, the French and the English, from making these provinces the basis for their farther operations against Russia. Count Buol says, also, that Austria cannot expect that the peace, which is so much desired, and which it is so anxious to see established, can be obtained by the struggle and sacrifices of other Powers, and consequently that it cannot hind itself not to change its present armed neutrality into a participation in the war. The victory of the French and English at the Alma, over Prince Mentschikoff, has evidently had the effect of rendering the Court of Vienna more inclined than ever for assuming a position which might afford it a safe opportunity of increasing its own power at the expense of its old friend, the Czar.

The House of Hapshurg possesses the pride which makes it indignant at being looked upon as dependent on the Russian Emperor, as, since 1849, it has really been, in public opinion; and, consequently, it has rejoiced with exulting the opportunity of showing that it has the courage to brave the anger of its supposed protector; still, it did not begin to abandon its ambiguous course until it thought that it could do so with impunity, but even now it remains somewhat hesitating, from fear of committing a great mistake.

Austria's last note—above alluded to—is creating much sensation throughout the whole of Germany, and especially in Prussia. One of the Berlin journals, supposed to be in the interest of Russia, uses the following expression: "We do not wish to decide, beforehand, whether it might be possible for Russia to forget and forgive what Austria has lately sinned against us; we leave the decision to the generosity of the Russian monarch. But one thing we know for certain; and that is, that if the congratulations which the Austrian Cabinet has transmitted to France and England, on account of the victory of the allied forces over Prince Mentschikoff, and the sentiments expressed by Count Buol in his note of the 30th September, on the 18th instant, are based upon as indicating the future course of Austria, we have to remains but a very poor chance of a speedy end to the present war; and it must also be evident to Prussia, and to the whole of Germany, that Austria has abandoned its neutral position without consulting the other States of the German Confederation, and consequently made it self alone responsible for the results which such a step might produce."

The increasing cordiality between the Western Powers and Austria is evidently producing its legitimate result of diminishing the popular sympathy in behalf of England and France, without, however, transferring it to Russia, which still remains the object of the deadly hatred of the German people. Indeed, as far as it is not to be concealed, that several of the German Governments, and a great part of the German nobility, still remain warm friends of the Czar, whom they look upon as their main support against popular movements, and whom they consequently deem their own interests require them to aid in his present struggle, should this take a turn threateuing his destruction.

I am led to this latter remark from several other reasons, and also from the tenor of the note which the Minister for the Foreign Affairs of Prussia, Baron Manteuffel, on the 13th instant, addressed to the Prussian Ambassador at the Court of Vienna, Count v. Arnim, as an answer to that of Count Buol of the 30th September, spoken of in my last letter. From the two notes, now alluded to, it is very evident that there exists at present a great difference in the views of the Austrian and Prussian Cabinets, relative to the conrse of policy which the German Confederation, as well as Austria and Prussia, respectively, ought to pursue against Russia; and that those of the Prussian Cabinet are by far the most friendly to the Czar. Baron Manteuffel, while declaring that the Prussian Government is resolved to oppose all steps of its Eastern neighbor, threatening the real interests of Germany, does not apprehend any danger from the increase of the Russian army in Poland, but views this measure as a necessary result of the attacks directed against the Russian territory by the allied Powers. "There are the forty terms of Toledo," asks Capt. Widdrington, "that have disappeared since the time of Philip II? Ask the priesthood, for they are the real authors of such destruction. Where are the industrious people who teemed in Andalusia, the very name of whose locations is lost, and whose place was filled the country along the Guadalquivir, making it one vast garden and crowned line of villages and towns? Ask the advisers and directory of the Catholic Kings, who are now held out as subjects for admiration. Who have caused the reduction of Estremadura, nearly the most beautiful region in Europe, to a vast despoblado? The same authorities. Let the traveller go from Burgos to Valladolid, and from there to Leon, returning to Benevente, or shaping his course as he may in that region, he will see everywhere, amid the most fertile land, capable of producing everything to gladden the heart of man, little more than the ruins of decayed villages and towns, the shadows and spectres of former wealth and prosperity; the same hands and hands have produced the fatal consequences."

The feeble mind of Ferdisand, however, looked on church property as sacred; nor is this wonderful, since he passed much of his time in embroidering a petticoat for the Virgin Mary! The bigoted populace regarded the secularization of the monastic lands as sacrilege. This view coincided with the old and little confidence that remained between the King and the Cortes, who were henceforward opposed by him because they restrained his prerogative; they were hated by the nobles, for having interfered with the law of entail; by the church, for the reasons assigned; by the peasantry, for disturbing traditions and old customs. The truth is, that the Cortes were in advance of their age and country, while the Cortes were in advance of their age. They wanted to reform an uneducated people, through institutions which the people

Count Buol, the Minister for the Foreign Affairs of Austria, addressed on the 30th of September, to Count Esterhazy, the Austrian Ambassador at the Court of Berlin, a confidential note, containing statements showing clearly that Austria has abandoned its plan of preventing the Turks from attacking, by the way of Wallachia and Moldavia, the Russian position on the left bank of the Prath; and, farther, that it is not willing to give Prussia the promise required by that Power, of not changing its alleged neutrality into open hostilities against Russia. Count Buol says that the Austrians have entered the Danubian Principalities, in virtue of the permission of the Sultan, and for the sole purpose of preventing their being re occupied by the Russians; and, consequently, that Austria cannot undertake to prevent the Turks or their allies, the French and the English, from making these provinces the basis for their farther operations against Russia. Count Buol says, also, that Austria cannot expect that the peace, which is so much desired, and which it is so anxious to see established, can be obtained by the struggle and sacrifices of other Powers, and consequently that it cannot hind itself not to change its present armed neutrality into a participation in the war. The victory of the French and English at the Alma, over Prince Mentschikoff, has evidently had the effect of rendering the Court of Vienna more inclined than ever for assuming a position which might afford it a safe opportunity of increasing its own power at the expense of its old friend, the Czar.

The House of Hapshurg possesses the pride which makes it indignant at being looked upon as dependent on the Russian Emperor, as, since 1849, it has really been, in public opinion; and, consequently, it has rejoiced with exulting the opportunity of showing that it has the courage to brave the anger of its supposed protector; still, it did not begin to abandon its ambiguous course until it thought that it could do so with impunity, but even now it remains somewhat hesitating, from fear of committing a great mistake.

Austria's last note—above alluded to—is creating much sensation throughout the whole of Germany, and especially in Prussia. One of the Berlin journals, supposed to be in the interest of Russia, uses the following expression: "We do not wish to decide, beforehand, whether it might be possible for Russia to forget and forgive what Austria has lately sinned against us; we leave the decision to the generosity of the Russian monarch. But one thing we know for certain; and that is, that if the congratulations which the Austrian Cabinet has transmitted to France and England, on account of the victory of the allied forces over Prince Mentschikoff, and the sentiments expressed by Count Buol in his note of the 30th September, on the 18th instant, are based upon as indicating the future course of Austria, we have to remains but a very poor chance of a speedy end to the present war; and it must also be evident to Prussia, and to the whole of Germany, that Austria has abandoned its neutral position without consulting the other States of the German Confederation, and consequently made it self alone responsible for the results which such a step might produce."

The increasing cordiality between the Western Powers and Austria is evidently producing its legitimate result of diminishing the popular sympathy in behalf of England and France, without, however, transferring it to Russia, which still remains the object of the deadly hatred of the German people. Indeed, as far as it is not to be concealed, that several of the German Governments, and a great part of the German nobility, still remain warm friends of the Czar, whom they look upon as their main support against popular movements, and whom they consequently deem their own interests require them to aid in his present struggle, should this take a turn threateuing his destruction.

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Lubeck, *October* 25, 1854. DIOGENES.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1854.

☞ We call the attention of readers to our Prospectus for 1855. Any one who wishes to secure us some additional subscribers, can cut it out, wafer it on a sheet of paper, and circulate for names.

PROSPECTUS
OF THE
Sixth Volume of The National Era,
Washington, D. C.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR;
JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

The *National Era* is an uncompromising opponent of Slavery and the Slave power; an advocate of personal, civil, and religious liberty, without regard to race or creed; a foe to all secret combinations to control the Ballot-Box, whether under the direction of priests or laymen; a friend of Temperance, the Homestead, and such measures as will secure to Labor its just consideration, recompense, and political weight, and to Trade, its Natural Freedom, in virtue of which every man has a right to buy and sell in whatever market he pleases. It believes in the right of individual judgment in all matters, whether of religion or politics, and rejects the doctrine that associations and majorities exist in both Church and State; holding that no man who swears to support the Constitution of the United States can conscientiously violate its own settled conviction of its meaning, without incurring the guilt of perjury, and that no citizen can obey a human enactment which requires him to commit injustice, or omit charity.

It regards Slavery, and the issues involved in it, as forming the great Political Question of the day. Slavery, therefore, gives its character to its necessities, instincts, and habits, is perpetually antagonistic to Freedom and Free Labor, and unchangeably aggressive; that its workings can be counteracted only by a permanent system of measures; that the Whig and Democratic Parties, not having been formed with a view to the Slavery question, have no Slave Interest, but being held in thrall by it, so far from presenting any resistance to its exactions, afford facilities for enforcing them; and that one or both of these Parties must, in the true Democratic Party be united, without regard to old issues or prejudices, on a Party of Freedom, as a necessary preliminary to the overthrow of the Slave Power. It will, therefore, give its earnest support to the Republican Movement, so far as its policy has yet been developed—a movement which promises to be national in its extension.

The *National Era*, while occupying a decided position in Politics, has amply provided in its Literary Miscellany and News Department for the various wants of the Family. Tales, Essays, Abstracts of Intelligence, Domestic and Foreign, are given every week in its columns; during the session of Congress, special attention is devoted to its movements; and it has secured the services of some of the most distinguished literary writers of the country.

Such is the character of the paper which will commence *on the 1st of January ensuing.* Subscriptions should be sent in at once to

G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

November, 1854.

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G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

JOHN KIRKMAN, agent for the *Era* for Cincinnati, Corner of Third and Walnut streets.

☞ The letter of JEFFERSON, from which we quoted last week, was written to *Mrs.*, not *Mr.* John Adams.

THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE.

We print in our advertising columns the Prospectus of the New York *Tribune*, a paper which we are happy now to agree with, doctrinally, in every point, we believe, but that of Protection and Free Trade. The course of the *Tribune* in regard to the Russian and Political Anti-Slavery movements, has been noble. As to its admirable qualities as a newspaper, everybody acknowledges them.

THE NEW PARTY AND SLAVERY.

☞ One at a time, we say to our Know Nothing friends. Communications adverse to our views and facts from many quarters. Keep cool, friends. We intend to do so, at any rate. Had we consulted worldly prudence, we should have postponed our articles, till after the renewal of our subscription list—but on all practical questions of moment, when our opinions are formed, we feel it our duty to express them at once. Non-committalism is no part of our tactics.

Of course, we recognise the right of subscribers to a fair share of our columns, to express their opposing views. Meantime, we shall lay before them whatever facts and considerations may help to elucidate the subject, and conduct to right conclusions.

We discuss, but do not denounce. As the Know Nothings now constitute a distinct, mainfest, and powerful political party, extending into every State of the Union, and openly aspiring to the control of the Federal Government, its relations to the Question of Slavery become of vast importance. The People of all sections have a right to know what their position and purposes are on this vital question.

We said lately that they had ignored it; that they had acted so far with little or no reference to it; but that they must come to a decision in relation to it. We repeat now, that as they claim to be a National Party, and propose to obtain the control of the Federal Government, they must decide upon this question, either for Slavery or against it—for the doctrines concerning its relations to the Constitution, maintained by slaveholders, or by their opponents; for the Fugitive Slave Law, or the Compromise Measures, the Slavery Propagandism that is seeking to grasp Dominica, Cuba, and California, and so much of Mexico as it can assimilate, or against them.

It is undeniable that many Anti-Slavery men, many even of those who have hitherto acted with the Free Democracy, have joined the new party, while others of the same classes look with favor upon it. We quoted, a week or two since, an extract from an editorial in the *Portage County* (O.) *Democrat*, hitherto a Free Democratic paper, justifying its policy. Other papers of the same class, East and West, by their non-committalism, betray their leaning towards the Order. In Indiana, at a State Convention on the 1st inst., Free Democracy, Whigs, and other elements of Anti-Slavery

"We see no danger to the Union. Our revelation from the fates is far different from that small prediction of the *Courier*. *Our next election will present a candidate for the Presidency, not only national in his position, but American to the core. The People will recognize the statesman and the patriot, and elevate him with greater unanimity than has been witnessed since the days of Washington.*"

In another number it reiterates these views:

"*We find nothing in the Courier, that we can imagine point of political union with any other party at the North except the Know Nothings; but they occupy the only national ground.* The Liverpool Times says that the overshadowing fact is adherents of Seward. The Nebraska Democrats claim this bill as a triumph over the Know-Nothing crusade, and the overwhelming North, so North, so East, no West.

"With the facts we have adduced, it is a mystery of the good sense of the people to hide it to affiliate with either the Whigs or the Democrats of the North. There is neither patriotism nor prudence, honesty, nor a devotion to the rights of the South, in seeking such alliances."

Concurrently with these declarations, we find JOHN M. CLAYTON, the auxiliary of Senator Douglas in pushing through the Nebraska bill, though he declined to vote for it finally, because it did not come up to the standard of Democracy as established by himself, in a speech, delivered before the late election in Delaware, on Native American ground, advocating Know Nothings, and predicting the impossibility of any national union hereafter on Whig or Democratic ground. Speaking of the disorganized men belonging to the Know Nothing order, he remarked—

"I know not upon what authority it is stated *that the late President of the United States is member of the Know Nothing order.* But I know that a great number of the most intelligent and patriotic men of this country have adopted the principles and joined the society of this secret party."

In relation to the main principles of the American Party, as he calls it, he announces:

"I will not," says he, "support for office a man who claims to be a Native American, unless *he pledges himself to the principles of the party* it seeks my vote, he must do it by professing my principles. He must not tell me that some other man is the American party because he is nominated him for the office. He must come out plainly, and say that he asks support on the principles of the Americans. If he will the support of the party, *he claims no right to accept, without our consent, a nomination from another party*, professing principles which we, as Americans, have never adopted."

Referring to the excitement aroused at the North by the Nebraska bill, he says:

"Repose for the passions of men is required, to save us from ourselves. At this crisis, when I think there is far more real danger than has ever existed before, (as the sequel will now show,) I rejoice that an American party is to be found in the country, around which I and other like myself may rally. For I hate the Whig and Democratic parties having, in different sections of the Union, made the Slavery question a part of their respective creeds, are split into sectional parties, and are no longer equally ultra in their views, and equally unscrupulous in their abuse of each other. In one-third of this State a (so-called) Democratic ticket is run, upon which not a single Democrat is found and active Whigs. In another part of the State an effort has been made to get Whigs to vote for a Democratic ticket, but, finally, without success. In other States, the division among the Whigs is such, that it is quite impossible that another Whig National Convention can be assembled. Even should another Democratic Convention should again make a unit, as it probably will, there can be no real, heart-felt support in such a body. A party strong enough to sustain the Government in the trials to which it will inevitably be subjected, must have its basis in a common faith every right-minded American statesman.

"An appeal to American national feeling for such a purpose ought not to be in vain; and I do not believe it will be in vain. I look to the State and in every section of this Union there is now an American party."

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused the Anti-Slavery sentiment. The denial of the People of all the free States was, that a fusion of parties for its repeal might give a fair expression at the ballot-box of the hostility to the measure, and to the system of policy of which it was but one emanation. In all the States, except Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts, the demand was complied with, and a Republican movement, so called, was the result, absorbing the Whig and Free Soil Parties, and utterly prostrating the Administration Party. The indication was fair for the formation of a political organization powerful enough to take possession of the Federal Government in 1856, and place it on the side of Freedom. But the Whigs in Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, stubbornly rejected the fusion movement: and hope hoped to be able to absorb the Anti-Nebraska feeling, and make it tributary to the re-institution of the Whig Party. Suddenly, as if by magic, we find a new Party, without any principles on the Question of Slavery, springing into life, determining the election in Pennsylvania, powerfully influencing it in New York, reducing the Whigs to a meager minority in both, and overwhelming all parties in Massachusetts.

For this result, the Whig leaders in those States must blame their own infatuation or selfish ambition. The fate of their party is sealed; and for this we have no tears to shed; had this been all, the country would not have suffered. But, their ill-judged policy, while subverting their own Party, gave power to another, which now threatens to check, if not paralyze the Republican movement, and to afford another opportunity for the Slave Power to triumph in the Presidential contest. If this country is to be afflicted with another Pro-Slavery President, it will have to thank the Know Nothing Party—but that Party could not have reached its present power except through the infatuation and stubbornness of the Whig leaders in Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts.

What remains, now, for Anti-Slavery men, Whig, Democratic, and Know Nothing? Shall the Republican movement be abandoned? Shall the issue between native and foreign-born citizens be suffered to supersede the issue between Slavery and Freedom? Shall the Anti-Nebraska movement, stop midway in its course, satisfied with having returned a small Anti-Nebraska majority to the next House of Representatives, so as to secure, whether the next President shall be Anti-Slavery or Pro-Slavery? Will those Anti-Slavery men who have united with the Know Nothing Party, or voted for its candidates, continue their support to it, in the phase of "nationality" so called, it is now assuming under the influence of Jno. M. Clayton, and the Fillmore men of New York? There is danger ahead. Honest men should beware of being entrapped and entangled by obligations, calculated to give rise to conflicting duties, to obscure their perception of right and wrong, to tempt them to compromise or postpone the application of vital principles. Who will give an authoritative answer to these questions—*How are Anti-Slavery and Pro-Slavery Know Nothings to act together, in the selection of a Presidential candidate? And if a non-committal or Pro-Slavery candidate be selected by the vote of a majority, what will the Anti-Slavery minority do?*

THE ULLMANN PARTY IN NEW YORK.

As Clark received only about two-thirds of the Whig vote of New York, and Bronson a quarter of the "Hard" vote, the inference is fair that these two factions supplied the majority of the voters for Ullmann. The Know Nothing Party then, in New York, may be regarded as principally a component of the self-styled National Whigs and National Democrats.

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE HARDS.

The faction in New York, which has hitherto rejoiced in the title of "National Democrats," having nothing to gain by keeping up a fight, finding no party in the South to affiliate with them, and prolipsed to Know Nothingism, left their candidate, Mr. Bronson, standing at the head of twenty-five thousand men, and went over to ULLMANN. *The Rochester Union* of November 8th contained the following paragraph:

"We hear that a secret circular was sent from the Hard State committee last week, urging the abandonment of Bronson, whose cause was hopeless, for Ullmann. The vote of Binghamton is significant."

As the Hards cast nearly 100,000 votes one year ago, and but 25,000 at the election just held, we suppose we may record the decease of that party.

"AS YOU WERE."

So the *National Intelligencer* heralds the announcement that Mr. Granger and his National Whigs are planning a reconstruction of the Whig Party. According to *Albany Atlas*, Messrs. Granger, Collier, and Barnard, with other leading Whigs of their class, met privately at Albany, before the election, to confer as to their course. It was determined to make no formal demonstration in relation to the pending canvass, but to throw their influence in favor of Ullmann, the Know Nothing candidate; and at the same time a circular was prepared appealing to Democrats to *Albany Atlas*, Messrs. Granger, Collier, and Barnard, with other leading Whigs of their class, met privately at Albany, before the election, to confer as to their course. It was determined to make no formal demonstration in relation to the pending canvass, but to throw their influence in favor of Ullmann, the Know Nothing candidate; and at the same time a circular was prepared appealing to Democrats to consultation with National Whigs, it had been deemed advisable to call a Convention, to assemble in Albany early in January, to reinstate the Whig party on the platform of 1852. As we printed the letter last week, we now simply refer to it. It is welcomed by the *National Intelligencer*, but the avowal of hostility embodied in it to the bill by which the Douglas land promise was repealed, does not find favor in the South. True, the Whigs engaged in the movement intend to acquiesce in that measure, as well as all other aggressive measures of Slavery, already accomplished, but there are some Southern Whigs so exacting, that they demand, not only acquiescence, but approbation.

Mr. Granger and his friends may expose their weakness if they persist in the movement. The probability is that they will change their tactics, and combine with the Know Nothings, whose general policy they decidedly approve.

MR. SOULE AND LOUIS NAPOLEON.

Since our last issue, we have had a serious difficulty with the French Government, which later dispatches say the daily, for the present, is successive days, made the hook of one on 'Change yearn, cost the Cabinet a prodigious amount of anxiety, set the Telegraphic wires to thrilling all over the country, and, at the end of the sixth day, was as summarily settled as a Know Nothing nomination or election.

Tuesday, October 24th, Mr. Soulé, our Minister to Spain, set out for Madrid, *via* France; at Calais, was stopped by order of the French Government, and, admonished that he could not proceed thence to Paris, quietly returned to London by the next steamer.

It was an unwise act of Napoleon, whether dictated by motives *personal* to Mr. Soulé or *political*. If purely *personal*, it was discreditable to his dignity and his position;—if *political*, it was a step to involve him in a serious controversy with the United States.

One of the newspapers quoted the following extract from *Vattel*, which throws sufficient light upon the principle of the transaction:

"If an innocent passage, and even perfect security, are due to a private individual, much more ought they to be granted to a sovereign, who is going to execute his master's affairs, and who travels on the affairs of a nation. To say an 'innocent passage:' for the minister's journey is not indifferent to the State; for his reason to apprehend that he will make an improper use of the liberty granted him of entering his territories, by plotting against his interests with the power to which he is going to convey intelligence to his enemies, or to stir up others against him. We have already said that it was to be taken for granted, that *he has a passage*; but he is not to mal-treat him, nor suffer any violence to be offered to his person."

In §64, referred to in the preceding, it is said:

"Sometimes even a passage is refused *to suspected ministers*, or to those who, in critical moments, although there do not exist an open war. But this is a delicate proceeding, which, *if not justified by reasons that are perfectly satisfactory*, produces a rupture, that easily degenerates into an open rupture."

The Americans abroad felt themselves insulted; the Bourse grew anxious; Mr. Buchanan was aroused; Mr. Mason threw aside his cigar, and demanded an explanation. The Emperor, whether moved by his second sober thought, by pecuniary considerations, or by a wink across the Channel, the state of the money market, the condition of things in the Crimea, or the representations of Mr. Mason, whom the newspapers, with their usual omniscience, are lauding for his wonderful diplomacy, although his correspondence is yet unpublished and unknown, soon rescinded the order, and gave his gracious permission to Mr. Soulé to proceed wherever he pleased through France!

PORTRAIT OF THEODORE PARKER.—In another column will be found an advertisement of the forthcoming portrait of this distinguished Unitarian minister and philosopher. Mr. C. H. Brainard, the publisher of the print, is noted for the artistic elegance and fidelity of his portraits, the drawings of which are executed by *Groszlier*, an eminent French artist, who stands at the very head of his profession in this country. The portraits of Hon. Charles Sumner and Hon. William H. Seward, by this artist, are splendid specimens of the lithographic art, and most faithful likenesses.

Perhaps the *Era*, by its charge, with triumphant air, of forgetfulness, intends, by implication, to assail our consistency; yet we hope otherwise, for, though we unfortunately differ with the *Era*, we can cheerfully accord to it the candor and sincerity which we claim for ourselves.

Portage County (O.) Democrat.

We assure our worthy cotemporaries that we did not dream of any imputation against their candor or honesty. We never find in a mere difference of opinion any ground for impugning motives.—*Ed. Era.*

EXTRACT OF A LETTER.

LEBANON, PA., *Nov.* 13, 1854.

To the Editor of the National Era:

You do not seem to favor the order of Know Nothings. I have perused your editorial on the subject with much interest. It was unlike the wild effusions of some heathenish editors, without reason or argument, but written in a *true*, gentlemanly, and Christian-like style, with a due regard for the feelings of the parties interested, clearly defining your position. I myself favor the cause of Americanism, and am bitterly opposed to Popery, in every form and shape in which it was revealed in past ages, or as it has lately manifested itself in this country, endeavoring to undermine our free and glorious institutions. I am therefore inclined to look with rather a suspicious eye on foreign influence. It is true, however, there are noble exceptions among foreigners, and even among Catholics; and I was much rejoiced to perceive that the foreigners in the late elections in Iowa, Indiana, and Ohio, exerted their influence on the side of Freedom. I may be partial in my observations, and prejudiced in my judgment, in regard to Popery and foreign influence; if so, my mind is open for conviction, and, as soon as I am convinced, I will abandon the order of Know Nothingism. I approve of the doctrine of free discussion, and rejoice to see that the *Era* gives all parties an impartial hearing.

Yours, truly, &c., S. R.

POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE.

VERMONT OFFICIAL VOTE.

First District.

James Meacham	8,626
S. W. Jewett	3,464
S. P. Lewis	134
Scattering	40
	3,638
Majority for Meacham	4,988

Second District.

Justin Morrill	8,380
Wm. W. Parker	3,848
O. L. Shafter	2,447
Scattering	26
	8,321
Majority for Morrill	59

Third District.

Alvah Sabin	7,863
H. Heywood	3,696
Scattering	33
	3,941
Majority for Sabin	4,221

In the first district, Landgrove and Cornwall were not returned; in the second district, Stratton was not returned; and in the third district, Fairfield, Lowell, and Westfield, were not returned. They would increase the majority.

Total Anti-Administration vote - 26,971
Total Administration vote - - 13,010

Anti-Administration or Republican majority - - - 13,961

FLORIDA

The official returns of the election for Congressman in Florida foots up as follows:

Brown, (Whig) 4,564; Aug. E. Maxwell (Dem.,) 5,638. Majority for Maxwell, 1,074.

ILLINOIS.

It would seem that the victory of the Republicans in Illinois is not quite so decisive as it was at first reported. The Douglas candidate for State Treasurer has been defeated by Miller, (Republican,) showing that Douglas is in a minority of the vote of the whole State; but his champion, Richardson, it is now said, is reelected. The *Tribune* says:

Later reports from the Prairie State render it probable that the following gentlemen have been elected to Congress, that is, if we concede the district of Yates and Williams in the 5th and the districts, as is now asserted by some of the Nebraskaite journals:

1. E. B. WASHBURNE. 6. Thomas L. Harris.*
2. J. H. WOODWORTH. 7. James C. Allen.
3. JESSE O. NORTON. 8. LYMAN TRUMBULL.
4. ELIHU KNOX. 9. S. S. Marshall.
5. Wm. A. Richardson.*

*Reported.

Republicans (in SMALL CAPS) 5, and Douglasites 4. There were four Whigs and five Democrats in the last Congress. We shall wait for further returns before we admit the election of Richardson and Harris.

According to later intelligence, Col. ARCHER, Republican, has been elected over JAS. C. ALLEN, so that there is a gain of one Republican.

According to the *Chicago Tribune*, the following is the composition of the Legislature:

Senators holding over—	
Anti-Nebraska	7
Nebraska	3
Whig	1
Senators just elected—	
Republicans	6
Anti-Nebraska Democrat	1
Total Anti-Nebraska members	13
Total Nebraska members	3

The fact that there is a decided Republican majority in the House is admitted by the Chicago *Times*, the organ of Senator Douglas.

DELAWARE.

The Know Nothings have swept this State, electing Governor, members of Congress, and a majority of the Legislature. Jno. M. Clayton declared himself a Whig, but the Know Nothings before the election, anticipated the triumph as a National Party in 1856, and of course expects to be number one among them.

The official returns of the State give Causey (K. N.) 733 majority for Governor, and Cullen (K. N.) 504 majority for Congress.

NEW JERSEY.

The Senate stands 10 Democrats to 10 Whigs and Know Nothings, being a tie. The House stands 27 [Democrats to 33 Whigs and Know Nothings.

The Newark *Advertiser* says, the Assembly will stand as follows:

"Whigs, 27; Democrats, 20; Natives, 4; Temperance, 2; Independent Anti-Monopoly Democrats, 7.

"The total Anti-Monopoly force, including reliable Whigs and Natives, whose feelings on the subject are known, with the Anti-Monopoly Democrats, will be certainly more than a majority of the House, so that no further expressions of the great power which has controlled the State can be made during the coming winter. The number of members who, through the manner of their election, may be considered as pledged to the Prohibitory Law, is some eight or ten, while it is probable that as many more are favorable to the measure."

MICHIGAN.

Bingham, the Republican candidate for Governor, is elected, probably by a majority of over 5,000. Pierce had a majority in 1852 of near 8,000!

William A. Howard, Henry Waldren, and David S. Walbridge, the Republican candidates, are elected to Congress. A telegraphic despatch announces the election of Peck, Administration man, in the fourth district.

The State Senate stands 5 to 24 Republicans, 10 Administration men, or Anti-Republicans.

The *House*, 45 Republicans, 24 Anti-Republicans.

Wayne county, the home of General Cass, a Democratic county, elects Anti-Nebraska members of the Legislature. The General gets no comfort either at home or abroad. He does not seem to pass current in Michigan or Virginia.

WISCONSIN.

The members elected to Congress are:

WELLS, Anti-Nebraska Democrat; WASHBURNE, Republican; BILLINGHURST, Republican.

The *Union* publishes an extract from the Milwaukie *Daily News*, exulting in the triumph of Wells over Whigs, Abolitionists, and Know Nothings, but does not inform its readers that he is pledged against the Nebraska Bill and the Fugitive Act. The Milwaukie *Free Democrat* says:

"Two causes operated in the defeat of Mr. Spooner, the Republican candidate: 1st, Walworth county, which ought to have given him 1,000 majority, gave him only 300, the Silver Gray Whigs going for Mr. Wells; and, 2d, *Mr. Wells came out openly and squarely upon the Anti-Nebraska platform, a few days before election. He is also pledged to vote for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. These pledges secured for him the entire Anti-Nebraska Democratic vote of the district.*"

Washburn is elected in the second district by a majority of nearly 2,500.

Billinghurst's majority in the third district, over Macy, is four or five thousand.

The Milwaukie *Free Democrat* says the Legislature stands as follows:

Senate.—Republicans, 12; Democrats, 9; Independent, 1.

Assembly.—Republicans, 40; Democrats, 23; Independent, 7.

To hear from, 3 Assembly, 12 Assemblymen.

NEW YORK.

It seems now to be conceded that Clark is elected by a very small majority. The completion of the Legislature is thus presented by the New York *Courier*:

"The Senate consists of thirty-two members, who are elected every odd year; consequently, the present Senate, which was chosen in 1853, will exist one year from the 31st of December next. The political predilections of the Senators are as follows: Whigs 23, Democrats 9. Whig majority, 14.

"The Assembly is chosen yearly, and is composed of 128 members. Full returns of the result of the late election show that the next Assembly will be composed of 75 Whigs, 43 Democrats, and 3 elected as Temperance candidates. Whig majority over all, 36. The Whig majority, in joint ballot, it will be seen, is 60.

The New York *Tribune* ratifies the members of Congress elected as follows:

1. Suffolk, Queens, &c.—Wm. W. Valk, K. N.
2. Brooklyn, (old)—J. S. T. Stranahan, Whig.
3. City, wards 1, 2, 3, 5, 8—Guy R. Pelton, Whig.
4. Wards 4, 6, 10, 14—John Kelly, Soft, 74 votes.
5. Williamsburg, &c.—Tha. R. Whitney, K. N.
6. Ward 9—John Wheeler, K. N. Dem.
7. Wards 9, 16, 20—T. Childs, jr., Whig K. N.
8. Up town wards—Abr'm Wakeman, Whig.
9. Westchester, &c.—B. Clark, K. N. Whig.
10. Orange, Sullivan, &c.—S. Murray, K. N.
11. Greene, Ulster—Rufus H. King, Whig.
12. Columbia, Dutchess—K. Miller, Whig.
13. Rensselaer, Washington—Wm. Murray, Whig.
14. Albany, &c.—Dr. Sam'l H. Dickson, Whig.
15. Saratoga, &c.—Edward Dodd, Whig.
16. Clinton, Essex, &c.—George A. Simmons,* Whig.
17. Herkimer, St. Lawrence—Francis E. Spinner, Soft Dem.
18. Schoharie, &c.—Thomas R. Horton, Whig.
19. Otsego, Delaware—J. Hughston, Whig.
20. Oneida—Orsamus B. Matteson,* Whig.
21. Broome, Cortland, &c.—H. Bennett,* Whig.
22. Madison, Cayuga, &c.—McCarthy, Whig.
23. Jefferson, Lewis—Wm. A. Gilbert, Whig.
24. Onondaga—Gen. Amos P. Granger, Whig.
25. Cayuga, Wayne—Elwin R. Morgan,* Whig.
26. Ontario, Yates, &c.—Francis B. Spinner, Whig.
27. Tioga, Chemung, &c.—J. M. Parker, Whig.
28. Steuben, Livingston—W. H. Kelsey, Whig.
29. Monroe—John Wheeler, K. N. Dem.
30. Genesee, &c.—Benjamin Pringle,* Whig.
31. Orleans, &c.—Thomas T. Flagler,* Whig.
32. Erie—Solomon G. Haven,* S. G. Whig.
33. Chautauque, &c.—Francis S. Edwards, Whig K. N.

*Members of the present House re-elected.

Total, 25 Whigs, including regular Whig candidates who had been Know Nothing support; 2 Know Nothings (Valk and Whitney) elected over regular Whig candidates; 1 ditto (Edwards) elected over Fenton, Anti-Nebraska Dem.; 3 Softs, including Kelly (Williams) elected in a Whig district by the Know Nothings; 2 Anti-Nebraska Independents (Wheeler and Oliver) elected in districts of their opposition to Douglas. No Hards at all, unless the attempts to count Mike Walsh into Kelly's seat should prove successful. Total 33, of whom but *three* even affect to like Senator Douglas and his Bill.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The Concord *Independent Democrat* says that Governor Baker (Administration man, has joined the Know Nothings.

Mr. Morrison, who voted against the Nebraska bill last winter, has been renominated for Congress by an Administration Convention, which resolves took the strongest possible ground in support of the Baltimore platform, and of the entire Administration of General Pierce, as an admirable commentary upon it. On these resolves, of course, Mr. Morrison stands. The Manchester *Democrat* justly says:

"Mr. Morrison must either have 'acquiesced' in the Nebraska bill, or else he has been taken by the convention because there was no alternative. In any event it has a bad look for the members of the district that the convention comes from a set of office holders and Pierce flatters, and their action has its apparent approval. The *people* of this district will be pleased with no such thing. Mr. Morrison must either cut loose from this corrupt convoy, and take his position openly and squarely on the great principle to which he has given some indications of adherence, or his defeat is inevitable."

THE POPULAR VOTE.

The Baltimore *American* gives a comparison of the votes cast at the elections held this year for the offices of Presidential electors in 1852. For the sake of showing all possible fairness, that paper gives only the majorities obtained by the Democratic candidate for President in 1852 over the 31st of March of all his competitors. The result is as follows:

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Rhode Island -	465	2,500	2,965
Connecticut -		5,000	4,736
Iowa - - -	403	10,000	3,400
Indiana - -	7,464	14,597	22,061
Pennsylvania -	10,922	37,007	47,929
Ohio - - -		85,000	70,000
Missouri -	3,369	33,180	41,549
New York - -	1,872	90,000	91,872
New Jersey -	5,399	6,975	13,374
Illinois - -	5,697	20,000	20,697
Michigan - -	1,145	14,000	15,745
Wisconsin -	2,604	8,000	10,604
Democratic loss in fifteen States -			389,291

MASSACHUSETTS.

The election in Massachusetts has resulted, as our readers know, in the utter rout of all the old parties, and the complete triumph of the Know Nothing candidates. The nomination of Mr. Wilson, the Republican candidate, although refused by the Committee, seems to have been accepted by the Party, as his vote is not much over 6,000. Of course, the revolution is the work of the People of Massachusetts, a vast number of whom voted the Know Nothing ticket, not because members of the *Order*, but because they were determined to get rid of the old parties.

The Boston *Atlas* gives the following vote on Governor:

Washburn, 26,640; Gardner, 80,102; Wilson, 6,643; Bishop, 13,116; Wales, 313; scattering, 756.

CONGRESSIONAL VOTE.

First District.—Eliot, Whig, 2,228; Hall, K. N. and F. S., 5,707; Howland, Dem, 804; scattering, 22.

Second District.—Crocker, Whig, 1,692; Buffington, K. N. and F. S., 7,139; Weston, do., 501; Tukery, Dem., 1,018.

Third District.—Rantoul, Whig, 2,293; Damrell, K. N. and F. S., 9,340; Avery, Dem., 453; Austin, N. D., 416; scattering, 54.

Fourth District.—Thompson, Whig, 2,760; Comins, K. N. and F. S., 4,912; Spinney, Dem., 913; scattering, 7.

Fifth District.—Appleton, Whig, 3,109; Burlingame, K. N. and F. S., 5,967; Parmenter, Dem., 604; scattering, 16.

Sixth District.—Upham, Whig, 3,033; Davis, K. N. and F. S., 7,690; Lord, Dem., 742; scattering, 16.

Seventh District.—Bell, Whig, 2,767; Banks, jr., K. N. and F. S., 9,659; Buckman, N. D., 1,715.

Eighth District.—Wentworth, Whig, 3,792; Knapp, K. N. and F. S., 7,215; Needham, Dem., 708; scattering, 4.

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The State Legislature is singularly unanimous. *Senate:* Whigs, 0, Democrats, 0, Republican and Independent Democrats, 0, Know Nothings, 37—and in one district no election. The vacancy, however, will be filled with a Know Nothing.

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The Representatives chosen in the following towns remain to be heard from: Dighton, Hanover, Marshfield, South Scituate—total, 6.

From our friend Whittier, we have received the following comments on the result:

The political revolution in Massachusetts consummated at the late election, has unquestionably surprised the country at large. Even her own citizens, not initiated into the mysteries of the new order, were scarcely prepared for so complete an overturn. At a blow, the Whig, Democratic, and Free Soil parties have been annihilated. From the Governor down to the members of the lower House of the Legislature, only some half dozen of the latter, who still retain their old names, are spared, to remind us that those parties once stood in fierce competition on the battle ground of politics. The whole Know Nothing organization has the entire control of the State.

If it be asked, Have the People of Massachusetts all of a sudden fallen back two centuries to the religious bigotry of their Puritan ancestors, and gone crazily into a No-Popery crusade—or taken up the war cries of a Chinese mob against "foreign devils" and "outside barbarians?" we are happy to be able to give the negative. Our Catholic friends abroad need not entertain any fears for their brethren in Massachusetts. They are in no danger of being harned at the stake, or drawn and quartered.

The new Governor, Gardner, is not likely to put himself at the head of his friends, and hunt Papists in the streets of Boston, as crazy Lord George Gordon did in London. Our brilliant post-master, Thomas B. Wales, is not likely to join John Knox, to proclaim the sacking of Papist churches, and the rending of the clerical trappings of Parson Brownson and Father Boddan. General Wilson has opened no offices for recruits for a military crusade, nor is he at all likely to make a bequest of his skin, like Zisku, to the Grand Know Nothing Council, for a drum head, to summon Protestants to the battle-field against Catholics. The same assurance will quiet the nerves of all who have been alarmed by the late ridiculous summerset which the staid old Commonwealth has turned.

It is not to be denied that the Anti-Republican tone and sympathies of the Catholic priesthood and journalists, the presence of the detestable Bodini, and, above all, the zeal with which the Catholic population of Boston labored to send back Sims and Burns to Slavery—the fact that wherever you found a Catholic you found a noisy Fugitive Slave Law advocate—a volunteer bloodhound, eager to hunt "*the nagers*"—had prepared the public mind in Massachusetts to sympathize with the new movement. The colored people, almost to a man, voted for Gardner, and four-fifths of the Free-Soilers went the same way.

But, the refusal of the Whig State Committee, last summer, to unite with Free-Soilers and Anti-Nebraska Democrats, in forming a great Anti-Slavery organization, like that of Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan, was the principal cause of this most extraordinary political change. The Governor elect, H. J. Gardner, is a member of the Know Nothing order, and an ineffectual effort to induce his colleagues to join in the Republican movement. Simon Brown, Lieutenant Governor elect, an Anti-Nebraska Democrat, was one of a committee of three, chosen at a Fusion meeting in Concord, to invite the leading men of all parties to a conference in Boston. This effort also failed. The Whigs and the Free-Soilers generally, spared no efforts to bring about the Fusion. Their overtures and entreaties were met with contemptuous abuse and derision by the Whig managers. The Republican Convention at Worcester, as a matter of course, proved a failure. But the great mass of the People were desirous of giving up old party names and organizations, and the late election comes from a set of office holders and Pierce flatters, and their action has its apparent approval. The *people* of this district will be pleased with no such thing. Mr. Morrison must either cut loose from this corrupt convoy, and take his position openly and squarely on the great principle to which he has given some indications of adherence, or his defeat is inevitable."

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

A SHORT CHAPTER ON GOVERNMENT.

The three most important duties of Government are—

1. To protect the person.
2. To protect property.
3. To take care of those who are unable to take care of themselves.

And if legislation was substantially confined to these great objects, the world would soon become a happier and better one.

1. Government should protect the person. Every individual should be allowed to think, speak, and act, in his own way, provided he does not interfere with the rights of others; and in all respects he should be protected by the arm of the law from personal violence, so far as the thing is practicable. These rights belong to all men, of all nations and colors, wherever they may be. To thoroughly protect and secure personal freedom, is the first duty of Government, and a Government that does not do it hardly deserves the name.

2. To protect property. Every one should be allowed to enjoy his own property in his own way, provided he does not interfere with the rights of others; and he should be protected, entire, in proportion to his means, to sustain and carry out the objects of the Government.

Every individual should take care of all those who are unable to take care of themselves.

(1.) Children are unable to take care of themselves, and it is the duty of Government to see that their rights are protected, and their wants are supplied. This may be done by requiring their parents or guardians to attend to it, or in such other way as may, from time to time, seem just; but under no circumstances should it be neglected.

(2.) Insane persons, the deaf dumb, blind, and all persons who, from any cause, mental or otherwise, are unable to take care of themselves, should be cared for by Government, and all their wants supplied, that they may be made as happy as their unfortunate state will allow.

(3.) All persons who, from any cause, have become too poor to provide themselves with the necessaries of life, and who are not able to earn by their labor, should be supplied by Government. It is but just and right that those who are protected in the enjoyment of their property, should contribute to the support of those who supply the needy with the actual necessaries of life. This course is dictated by sound worldly policy, but by the precepts of the Christian religion, all the followers of Him who "went about doing good" are furnished to such persons by Government, there will be ample room for private benevolence to expend itself in the performance of those little comforts and luxuries which render life so much more pleasant, and the giving and receiving of which promotes happiness, and creates kindly feelings between the rich and poor.

So long as there is evil in the world, so long there will be poverty. While Legislatures make the most extensive appropriations while Governments levy indirect taxes, for the purpose of aiding one branch of business at the expense of another, and in this way plunder the people for the benefit of favorites, and the spoils of conquest while professed Christians pass by on the other side; while Carlyles advocate slavery from the unfortunate, and others professed sustaining and unphilosophical and irreligious doctrines; while men are dishonest in their business transactions; while physical misfortunes continue to exist, and while the wants of the things of the world better than we love God and our neighbor—so long will poverty continue; and no human being can prophesy when the end will be.

This state of things renders it the duty of the Government to take care of the poor, so far as the circumstances of each case will admit, in the most humane manner, and in such way as will not interfere with the rights of others; and in all respects he should be protected by the arm of the law from personal violence, so far as the thing is practicable. These rights belong to all men, of all nations and colors, wherever they may be. To thoroughly protect and secure personal freedom, is the first duty of Government, and a Government that does not do it hardly deserves the name.

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2. To protect property. Every one should be allowed to enjoy his own property in his own way, provided he does not interfere with the rights of others; and he should be protected, entire, in proportion to his means, to sustain and carry out the objects of the Government.

Every individual should take care of all those who are unable to take care of themselves.

(1.) Children are unable to take care of themselves, and it is the duty of Government to see that their rights are protected, and their wants are supplied. This may be done by requiring their parents or guardians to attend to it, or in such other way as may, from time to time, seem just; but under no circumstances should it be neglected.

(2.) Insane persons, the deaf dumb, blind, and all persons who, from any cause, mental or otherwise, are unable to take care of themselves, should be cared for by Government, and all their wants supplied, that they may be made as happy as their unfortunate state will allow.

(3.) All persons who, from any cause, have become too poor to provide themselves with the necessaries of life, and who are not able to earn by their labor, should be supplied by Government. It is but just and right that those who are protected in the enjoyment of their property, should contribute to the support of those who supply the needy with the actual necessaries of life. This course is dictated by sound worldly policy, but by the precepts of the Christian religion, all the followers of Him who "went about doing good" are furnished to such persons by Government, there will be ample room for private benevolence to expend itself in the performance of those little comforts and luxuries which render life so much more pleasant, and the giving and receiving of which promotes happiness, and creates kindly feelings between the rich and poor.

So long as there is evil in the world, so long there will be poverty. While Legislatures make the most extensive appropriations while Governments levy indirect taxes, for the purpose of aiding one branch of business at the expense of another, and in this way plunder the people for the benefit of favorites, and the spoils of conquest while professed Christians pass by on the other side; while Carlyles advocate slavery from the unfortunate, and others professed sustaining and unphilosophical and irreligious doctrines; while men are dishonest in their business transactions; while physical misfortunes continue to exist, and while the wants of the things of the world better than we love God and our neighbor—so long will poverty continue; and no human being can prophesy when the end will be.

The especial office of Government is to assume all necessary responsibility in carrying out the third great principle of duty. The most important thing in the end view must be left to be determined upon from time to time, according to the circumstances as they are presented, and people may indicate. No general rule can be laid down. But every Government should take all proper steps to prevent pauperism; and the most effectual way to do this is by requiring out the two other great principles, to wit: protecting the person and property.

(4.) Paupers, idiots, lunatics, and all other criminals, are unable to take care of themselves, and should be provided for by Government. This must be done, not only for the good of the criminals themselves, but in order to protect the persons and property of other citizens from their violence and depredations. The case with Government is not so much persons, is just such as their peculiar character requires. If they cannot safely be allowed to go at large, they should be shut up in prisons, and put to such employment as will pay over and the good of the State demands; and they should be educated and made as useful as possible. Under no circumstances can revenge should ever be indulged in towards such persons; but a firm, kind, and resolute character should be manifested towards them. It must be remembered that the object of the law is not to punish the person and property and the good of the criminal; and neither should be sacrificed to the other. A good citizen can take care of himself, but a bad one cannot, and the Government must therefore take more care of a bad man than of a good one.

It has been supposed that among most nations to hang or otherwise murder certain kinds of criminals. But this is a remnant of barbarism. It is an expeditious way of getting rid of the just responsibility of Government, and is about as reasonable as it would be for a parent, who had an unruly boy, that he had neglected to educate properly, to tie him up in a bag and throw him into the sea. Among barbarous nations it satisfies revenge, and among civilized nations it is a short cut to ease and comfort.

The inadequacy of these things have been proved to be terrible. Statistics show, beyond a doubt, that it is inexpedient and unwise to dispose of criminals in this way. Yet revenge, ignorance, prejudice, bigotry, perversion of the Holy Scriptures, political hunkerism, and other causes, most of which originate in hell, and are opposed to the spirit of Christianity, have, through the minds of men, have actually kept up this system in most countries until the present day, to the scandal of civilization and the Christian religion. But the days of such a more enlightened system will soon be adopted.

The three foregoing propositions in relation to the duties of Government will be assented to as general propositions, but great obstacles are encountered in carrying them out. The love of the world and the love of self interpose in the minds of men. All such acts, right and wrong, in politics, is often considered as evidence of incapacity to judge of the duties of Government; and in religion, some persons deem it of sufficient importance to increase the numbers of a church, and maintain ancient dogmas, than to advance the kingdom of God. Sin is sin in the sight of God, whether it be in the duty of Government. It deprives man of all personal protection, it compels women to fornication and adultery. It is founded on theft, murder, blasphemy, and every vice in the list; it is sustained by some persons who pretend to be Christians, and men who call themselves statesmen pass laws to support it every year.

It should be the aim of all men to do their utmost in securing the practical establishment of the three great principles before stated, to wit: freedom to man; protection to property; and the well-being of those who cannot, from any cause, take care of themselves. To bring into about, will require great and radical changes. There must be progress in the intellectual, moral, and spiritual worlds. We must not think that we know everything, and bury ourselves in the love of the world and the love of self, nor skulk behind theological dogmas. In religion, we must abandon hunkerism, and become fearless, brilliant, and positive, we must grid on the armor of truth and justice, and fight manfully for the cause of freedom.

One of the greatest obstacles to progress is the fear of being called radical. And yet the greatest radical that ever lived on earth was the Saviour of the world. He came, pronched resistance, and for so doing was crucified by the blindest and most conservative of the Jewish Sanhedrim, were his disciples stoned and killed. In his stops followed Paul, one of the noblest men that ever lived. It was his radicalism that brought him before the King, where, in his defence, he said, with such touching eloquence, "I am not mad, most noble Festus." Among the radicals of modern times are numbered many of every age, the best of men, and the best-hated Christians. On the other hand, the great conservatives is the Prince of Darkness. His efforts have proved to be the most powerful they are, buried in trespasses and sins. He does nothing for the freedom of man; nothing to protect property; nothing for the poor, the needy, and the unfortunate; nothing for the criminal, for its capital punishments he invariably stops. To him they are the rich fields of harvest. And how can this which is so accursable to the devil, be pleasant to Him who died that man might live?

P.

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For the National Era.

THE LEGAL TENURE OF SLAVERY.

LETTER XXII.

JUDICIAL SERVILITY—LEGISLATIVE USURPATION—PRETENDED POWER OF LEGALIZING SLAVERY. DESPOTIC, DISORGANIZING, ABSURD, AND UNCHRISTIAN.

To the Friends of American Liberty:

The obsequiousness of the judges to the Legislatures that appoint them, and their consequent indifference to the people, (who ought to have intended the appointments into their own hands,) has led to many inroads upon the rights of the people, and to corresponding usurpations of the Legislatures. Among the most flagrant of these usurpations is the power that is claimed by jury has, in this way, become a mere farce. By the Magna Charta, the jurors were made judges of the law as well as of the evidence, and were accordingly, in all cases, called upon to "render verdict *according* to LAW and evidence." And in judging of the law, they were expected to judge whether the statute was contrary to common law, the law of nature, the law of justice; and if they found it to be so, they were to set it aside. King John objected to this feature in the Magna Charta, as the most important one it contained. "Why!" (exclaimed he,) "You put it in the power of my twelve of my subjects, sitting as jurors, to repeal any act of King and Parliament!"

"Yes, my it please your Majesty," (replied the barons,) "*that is it precisely. That is what* we want, and we must have it, or cannot be free." We they got it, for that generation and for some time afterwards. By stealthy innovations, the judges, appointed by the Government, made inroads on the power of the jury, and have now succeeded in the law with official authority, (as the clergy preached, in those times,) expecting the juries to follow implicitly the decisions of the judges, when they were judges only of the facts, and *not* of the law they were sworn to administer; * then getting the juror's oath changed accordingly, in some States, from "a duty" to "render verdict *according* to LAW and evidence." And in judging of the law, they were expected to judge whether the statute was contrary to common law, the law of nature, the law of justice; and if they found it to be so, they were to set it aside. King John objected to this feature in the Magna Charta, as the most important one it contained. "Why!" (exclaimed he,) "You put it in the power of my twelve of my subjects, sitting as jurors, to repeal any act of King and Parliament!"

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